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MORAVIAN DIARIES OF TRAVELS THROUGH VIRGINIA.

Edited by Rev. WILLIAM J. HINKE and CHARLES E. KEMPER.

(CONTINUED.)

EXTRACTS FROM THE DIARY OF LEONHARD SCHNELL AND
ROBERT HUSSEY,* OF THEIR JOURNEY TO GEORGIA,
NOVEMBER 6, 1743-APRIL, 10, 1744.†

On November 6th, new style, Bro. Hussey and I went from our dear congregation at Bethlehem to Philadelphia, where we stayed to the 11th, to be commissioned by the Brethren to our work. Bro. Hussey and I agreed, in a hearty conversation, to journey together in love and in the strength of the Lamb. We lodged eight miles from Philadelphia in an English inn. On the 12th, I spoke with a man whom we met on the road. He knew us to be Moravians. He said that he was anxious to visit Bethlehem. I gave him an English catechism and a "Fellow Traveller."‡

On the 13th, towards evening, we came to Lancaster. I

* Robert Hussey, from Wiltshire, England. In 1749, teacher of the Moravian school in Oley, Pa. Died in Bethlehem, July, 1775. See *Register of Moravians*, p. 50.

† The editors are under special obligation to the authorities in Bethlehem, especially to the courteous archivist, Mr. Robert Rau, for the loan of the original MS., which has made it possible to present this important diary in a much completer form than was originally intended. The original covers fifty-one closely-written pages. As it would have been impossible to present the full text in one issue of the *Magazine*, most of the conversations were abbreviated and many reflections of the pious missionaries were excluded, but no statements were omitted which in any way throw light on the condition of the Germans in the States through which the missionaries traveled.

‡ This English catechism bears the following title: "A short Catechism for some Congregations of Jesus, of the Reformed Religion in Pennsylvania, etc. First published in German by John Bechtel. Philadelphia, 1742." The "Fellow Traveler" was not an American publication. It must have been published in England.

called on *Jacob Mueller*, who married the sister of Bro. *Suessholz*. But I found that I was not as welcome as formerly. Hence I left and went to *William Ziegler*, who moved to this place from Philadelphia. He received us kindly and showed us much love.

On the 14th, we crossed the Susquehanna River. *John Ride* took us over. When it became dark we could find no house. But we heard a dog bark. We followed the sound, but soon found ourselves in a swamp. We extricated ourselves with much difficulty. The people whom we met were Germans. They gave us a lodging at our request.

On the 15th, we came to the little town, New York [York, in York Co., Pa.], where all the inhabitants are High Germans. The name of the innkeeper, with whom we took breakfast, is *George Schwab*. In answer to a number of questions, he said: "You are certainly Zinzendorfians." I answered: "I do not understand your meaning. I am a Lutheran minister, but no Zinzendorfan." He said: "You are going about everywhere through the country to preach, will you not give us a sermon, for we have long wished to hear one of you?" As I did not refuse, they immediately went about through the little town, from house to house, and announced a sermon. I preached to them soon afterwards on the text: "The Son of Man is come to seek and to save that which is lost." They asked me to come again to them. Only every four weeks a Lutheran minister* comes to them and preaches for them. A shoemaker, who is single, asked me whether he should go on a privateer ship. The Catholic minister had advised him to do so. I made use of the opportunity to speak to his heart. Towards evening we came to the district which is called after the river "Canawage" [Conewago, Adams Co., Pa.]. We lodged in an inn. The name of

* The first trace of a Lutheran congregation at York appears in the year 1733. Its first pastor was John Caspar Stoeber. In 1743 the congregation was served by David Candler. See *Hallesche Nachrichten*, new ed., Vol. I., pp. 563-565. The Reformed congregation goes back to the year 1744. In that year a call was extended to the Rev. Jacob Lischy, who settled in York in September, 1745. See *Fathers of the Reformed Church*, Vol. I, p. 354.

the inkeeper is *Adam Forny*. He complained much about ministers and their useless efforts.

On the 16th we started early. We had no house for twenty-five miles. We passed from Pennsylvania to Maryland. We had to wade through three small rivers. At the first we were fortunate enough to meet a man, just as we had undressed to go across. He took us over on his horse. The name of the first two rivers is "Pfeiff" [Pipe] Creek. The third is called "Man-akes" [Monocacy],* through which I [Leonhard Schnell] had to carry my companion, because he was very tired, for we had already walked forty miles. A mile farther we found a house, where the people at first refused to receive us, but finally yielded to our requests. The host was a Mennonite and his name is *Abraham Mueller*.

On Sunday, the 17th, we hurried to the father-in-law of Bro. *Klemf*, of Philadelphia. He received us very willingly and was glad over our visit. They invited the people and I preached to them a sermon in the afternoon. Very many Germans live in this neighborhood, Lutheran and Reformed people. The Lutherans have church services every three weeks. (N. B. A certain *Schulze*, who pretends to have been ordained by Bro. Ludwig [Zinzendorf], preaches in this district). The Reformed people also desire to have a minister. I felt very happy among them. They are very plain people.

On the 18th, we had to cross several high mountains and deep valleys. We found only two houses within twenty miles, where we could get nothing to eat, because the people themselves had no bread. Towards evening we came to the "Patomik" [Potomac] River, which separates Maryland from Virginia.† We

* Monocacy was visited again on March 8-9, 1746, by Christian Henry Rauch, another Moravian missionary, who states in his diary that he preached in the church at Monocacy. This proves that a Reformed congregation was already in existence before it was visited and fully organized by Rev. Michael Schlatter, on May 8, 1747. See *Life of Rev. Michael Schlatter*, p. 154.

† The road which the missionaries followed from York, Pa., can best be seen on Fry and Jefferson's map of Virginia, 1751. It is there called "The Great Waggon Road" from Philadelphia. It crossed the Potomac at Williams' Ferry. From the fact that Jost Hayd was first visited,

lodged in an English tavern. Here the people complained very much, because they had no better preacher than the one ministering to them at present. On account of his disorderly life he has no influence among the people. At this place I handed to the landlady the Swedish catechisms,* which Bro. Bryzelius† of Philadelphia, gave me for his countrymen, who live three miles from here.

On the 19th, we went to *Roger Turner*, who married the sister of Bro. Evans, and lives ten miles from here. They were very glad to see us. They urged me to give them a sermon, but my deficiency in the English language prevented me from doing it. We stayed with them a day and a night. When we departed they asked us very urgently to come again. I was here requested to baptize the child of an Englishman, nine months old, but I refused.

On the 20th we continued our journey. Roger Turner accompanied us part of the way and showed us the right road. They gave us some Indian corn bread and cheese for the journey, although they were poor. At sunset we came to a German innkeeper, *Jost Hayd*,‡ a rich man, well known in this region.

it seems to follow that he still occupied, in 1743, his first place of settlement on the Opequon, where the road passes the creek at Bartonsville. In 1748, he had removed to the Cedar Creek. See this magazine, Vol. XI, p. 228.

* This Swedish catechism was a translation of the English catechism, mentioned before. It was translated into Swedish by Olaf Malander. See *John Bechtel; His Contributions to Literature and His Descendants*. By John W. Jordan. Philadelphia, 1895. It is commonly thought that this catechism was actually composed by John Bechtel. But this view is erroneous. In the Bethlehem Diary we find the following entry, under date July 11, 1742: 'Bro Andrew Eschenbach and Gottlieb Buettner read from the Catechism for the Reformed congregations, which was written by Bro. Ludwig [Zinzendorf] and edited by Bro. John Bechtel.' This statement settles definitely the authorship of the book. In fact, the title does not claim more than that Bechtel was the editor.

† "Paul Daniel Pryzelius" was ordained by the Moravians in 1743. He labored among the Swedes in West Jersey. See *Register of the Moravians*, p. 50.

‡ Jost Hite, who was mentioned by Rev. Mr. Gottschalk in his *Report and Observations*, published in the January number, 1904, of this

He was the first settler there. He was very courteous when he heard that I was a minister. I asked him for the way to Carolina. He told me of one, which runs for 150 miles through Irish settlements, the district being known as the Irish tract. I had no desire to take this way, and as no one could tell me the right way I felt somewhat depressed. I asked the Lord to show me the right way, but slept little that night.*

On the 21st, immediately after arising, one of the servants came to me and told me that two miles from there a man lived, who could tell me the right way. I went to him. He was very kind and quite willing to tell me the way. His name is *Stephan Schmidt*,† a Catholic, but hungry to hear the word of the cross. Many spiritually hungry people, of German nationality, live there, who have no minister. I bade him farewell and went

magazine. Rev. Mr. Schnell again visited him in 1749, as shown in the October number, 1903, of the Magazine. Kercheval, in his *History of the Valley*, makes many references to him, always spelling his name *Joist Hite*. His real name was Jost (Joseph) Heydt, which fact is attested by many of his deeds recorded in the county clerk's office of Frederick county, Va. He was careless as to the correct spelling of his surname, and it is stated upon the authority of one of his descendants that he spelled it in three different ways on the same day in the execution of three deeds. He was not, as has been so persistently claimed in recent years, the first white settler in the Valley of Virginia. Adam Mueller (Miller) had lived for fifteen years on the South Branch of the Shenandoah when naturalized by Governor Gooch on March 13, 1741-2, which proves, beyond question, that he located there either in 1726 or 1727, while Hite, according to Kercheval, made his settlement on the Opequon, about five miles south of Winchester, Va., in 1732. As to the settlement of Miller, see *William and Mary College Quarterly*, Vol. IX, No. 2, p. 132; also Vol. X, No. 1, p. 84, and Vol. XI, No. 2, p. 127, *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*. As to Hite, see Kercheval's *History of the Valley*, p. 41, *et seq.*

* The way indicated to the missionary would have led him through the present counties of Rockingham, Augusta, Rockbridge and Botetourt, then, in the fullest sense of the term, the land of the Scotch-Irish. Why an inoffensive missionary should have dreaded the prospect of a journey through their country, is a question to be answered by the historians of that race.

† He is also mentioned in Schnell's diary of 1749. See *Virginia Magazine*, Vol. XI, p. 129.

back again to the inn to meet Bro. Hussey. Together we traveled our way, in a happy frame of mind. We had no house for fourteen miles. Then we came to the "Tschanator" [Shenandoah] River.* The ferryman was very gruff. He did not want to keep us over night. He also asked us at once whether we had any money, before he would take us across the river. We would have liked to stay, because we heard that there was no house for twenty-four miles. On the other side of the river English people gave us shelter after much urging. At first they said they could neither give us a meal nor a bed, we might sleep at the fire. But after a while they changed their minds and gave us something to eat and a good bed. We paid, and left on the following day.

On the 22nd, we continued our journey. We had to pass a creek about eight times, because its course is very crooked. The Indian hatchet, which I had with me, was very useful to us; for, wherever it was necessary, we felled a tree across the water and on it went over. We had still some bread in our bundle, which we ate in the woods at noon. As we sat there three men passed us on horseback. They took us, perhaps, at first for wild animals. for they got their rifles ready. But then they continued on their way. After having walked about thirty-five miles to-day, we happened to come to a German house.† I asked for

* From Opequon the missionaries turned southeast to the Shenandoah, which they probably crossed at Ashby's Ferry (later Berry's) and the Blue Ridge at Ashby's Gap. From there the road ran southeast, passed Germantown and continued to Fredericksburg. As this road is the only one marked on Jefferson's map, it was most probably the one taken by the missionaries. The creek which they passed so frequently was Goose Creek.

† The missionaries were now in the vicinity of Warrenton, Va. As was shown by the diary of Gottschalk, published in the last issue of this magazine, some of the colonists, who settled at Germantown in 1721, had removed by 1748 ten miles southwest to the "Little Fork of the Rapahannock." From this diary we learn that others had gone north for a few miles. This is corroborated by the fact that John Kemper, one of the original Germanna colonists, acquired his first lands March 4, 1726, from the proprietors of the Northern Neck. His home was on Great Run, about three miles southwest of Warrenton. The missionaries were evidently in that vicinity.

lodging. They received us willingly. They asked me how long I was in this country. When I told them, one who lives near by related that he had had a dangerous sea voyage, for one hundred and fifty of the passengers were drowned at one time. This gave me an opportunity to remind them how necessary it is to be ready at all times to leave this world. They at once took me to be a minister, and, as a result, showed us much love. They asked us to stay with them and preach for them on Sunday, as they had a church, but had not heard a sermon for six months. On the following day,

November 23rd, it rained very hard. The man, mentioned before, brought me a horse early in the morning and went with us five miles farther to a "Reader" in Germantown,* on the "Licken" [Licking] Run. His name is *Holzkle*. A large Reformed congregation lives there close together. He received me very kindly when he heard that I was a minister. He related that Mr. *Rieger*† had come twice every year to preach for

*Germantown was situated about nine miles south of Warrenton, Va., on Licking Run, in the present county of Fauquier, as stated in notes to the diaries of Gottschalk and Spangenberg, published in the January number, 1904, of this magazine. It was then in Prince William county, Va. In this connection it may be of interest to state that the following members of the first colony at Germanna, and later Germantown, voted for members of the House of Burgesses from Prince William county, Va., at an election held in 1741: Peter Hitt, Jacob Holtzclaw, John Kemper, and Tilman Weaver. See *Poll List*, Boogher's *Gleanings of Virginia History*, Washington, D. C., 1903, pp. 116-120. The fact that they voted at this election shows that they were then naturalized and freeholders. It also seems proper to be noted here that in the change of language some of the German names of the first Germanna colony became Anglicized. The German name of Tilman Weaver was Dilman Weber; the name of John Joseph Merdten was changed to Martin; the descendants of Herman Otterbach are to-day known as Utterback; while those who descend from Joseph Countz now spell their name Coons; Handbach is now Hanback. With these exceptions, the names borne by the original colonists upon their arrival in Virginia remain unchanged.

† Rev John Bartholomew Rieger arrived at Philadelphia on September 21, 1731. He was pastor of the Reformed congregations at Philadelphia and Germantown from 1731-1734. Preached at Amwell, N. J., 1735-1739. Pastor at Lancaster, 1739-1743. Left Lancaster in

them and to administer the communion. But now he had gone to Germany, and thus they were entirely forsaken. They had, indeed, written to Germany several times for a minister, who would earnestly care for the salvation of their souls and not for money. However, none was willing to come. There are two other places in this neighborhood which would like to have a minister.

On Sunday, the 24th, I preached to them in their church on Rom., 5:1. About one hundred persons assembled, and if the weather had not been so unfavorable many more would have come. It is a very neat little church, kept in good order and clean. The people were very attentive and eager to hear. I felt God's grace, and was quite at home among them. The schoolmaster thought that I had a special gift for preaching, because he did not understand the power of the preaching of the blood of Christ. After the sermon I distributed some Reformed catechisms* among them because they were all Reformed people. In the afternoon several men, together with the officers of the congregation, came to visit me. We spoke of various subjects. They said that they had a parsonage, together with one hundred acres of land and a garden, which a minister could occupy at once, if they had one, nor would they allow him to suffer want in other necessities of life. They related to me that some time ago a number of people had lived in Georgia who had been very pious, and would not tolerate any one among them who cursed. The name of their minister had been Spangenberg. But they had not liked the place, and hence had removed to Pennsylvania to Zinzendorf.† I asked what the people of this

February, 1743, and went to Europe to study medicine at Leyden, Holland, 1743-1745. Returned and settled at Lancaster, where he practiced medicine. Pastor of Schaefferstown, Lebanon county, and Seltenreich, Lancaster county, 1746-1762. Died March 11, 1769 at Lancaster. During his pastorate at Lancaster, 1739-1743, he visited Virginia. See *History of the Reformed Church in the United States*, by Rev. Dr. J. I. Good, Reading, 1899, pp. 166-170 ; 580-581.

* The same as the Swedish and English catechisms mentioned above.

† They were unconsciously telling the Moravian missionaries the story of the first Moravian settlement made in Georgia in 1735 and abandoned in 1740, which was, no doubt, well known to them. See *Early History*

district thought of him. They answered: "Not very much." Rev. Mr. Rieger had said that he was a good Evangelical minister, who did not try to draw any one away from his religion, and that he preached the word pure and undefiled to all who wanted to hear him. They also told me that a man by the name of *Matthew Hoffmann* lives at Bethlehem, who had written several letters to his brother, living ten miles from there.* He had brought the letters to him [the schoolmaster] to read them to him, because he feared that his brother had fallen away from the true religion. The schoolmaster had then read the letters, but liked them very well. In the evening I visited an elder, at whose place all his neighbors again came together, when they heard that I was there. I spoke to them of the death of the Lamb.

On Monday, the 25th, before we left, five women came, who showed us much kindness. We then took leave, being very grateful. The schoolmaster, "Holzkloh," accompanied us part of the way, and gave me a letter to a Reformed elder in Carolina, to whom he recommended me most heartily. Taking leave he asked us urgently to come again and stay several weeks. We had nothing but rain all day, and passed a creek, which was dangerous because of its rocks and holes. A man happened to come along, who took us over. Shortly before we had already passed a river, called "Repehennik" [Rappahannock], in a canoe. In the evening we came to a German innkeeper, *Kuefer Stopfel*,† called Dutch Cooper. After a while, when he heard that I was a minister, he told of an English minister ‡ living in the county, who receives 16,000 pounds of tobacco as his

of the Church of the United Brethren, by L. T. Reichel, Nazareth, 1888, pp. 62-68.

* This statement shows that the second Reformed colony, settled at the Little Fork of the Rappahannock, and visited by Gottschalk in 1748 (see *Virginia Magazine*, Vol. XI, p. 232), was already in existence in 1743.

† As the Anglicised name shows, the correct name of this innkeeper must have been Christopher Kuefer.

‡ This was Rev. John Thompson (see this magazine, Vol. XI, p. 232). The German minister was Rev. George Samuel Klug (see this magazine, Vol. XI, pp. 230 and 240, f).

salary, and a German minister who gets 8,000 pounds. He has, also, nine negroes and a fine plantation. We were silent, drying our clothes and other things.

On Tuesday, the 26th, it rained again the whole day. We passed the second "Reppehennik" River at Orange Court House.* We lost here our way. In the evening we came to an English house, where they offered us lodging without our asking for it. As we were very wet, we stayed there. But the host asked us all kinds of questions, taking us to be spies. He wanted to see my passport, but I did not show it to him. He sent secretly to his neighbor, who came early the next morning, before it was day. He also examined us, and demanded to see the passport. I asked him who he was, for if I should show every one my passport I would have too much to do. But in case he were a justice I would show him the passport. They then escorted us to the justice with rifles [Gewehre]. When the justice had read the passport, he allowed us to proceed at once without further molestation. We passed an iron smelting furnace, called "Chessel Maynz" [Chiswell Mines.†] After having traveled six miles farther we lodged with an Englishman.

On the 28th we had to inquire for the way in one house after another, as we did not have a straight road, but only little foot-paths. An Englishman came to us who was much disturbed in his heart. He complained that his minister preached only: "Do this and thou shalt live" [Luke, 10:28]. He went with us part of

* The first Courthouse of Orange county, Virginia, was built on land belonging to John Branham, and the locality was known as Black Walnut Run. The first session of the County Court was held there January 21, 1734. In 1737 or 1738, the county seat was established near Germanna Ford, on the "Second Rappahannock River," as it was called by the missionary, which stream has long been known as the Rapidan. In 1754 or 1755, the Courthouse was removed to its present location. For the foregoing facts the editors are indebted to the courtesy of Mr. John G. Williams and Mr. Philip H. Fry, both of Orange, Va.

† This refers to the blast furnace and mine at Fredericksville, a village formerly located thirty miles southwest of Fredericksburg, in Spotsylvania county. Mr. Chiswell was the manager of the furnace. See J. M. Swank, *History of the Manufacture of Iron in all Ages*. Philadelphia, 1892, p. 260. They were visited by Colonel William Byrd in 1732. *History of the Dividing Line*, Vol. II, pp. 54-58.

the way in order to hear us. He insisted that I should visit him on my return. I gave him a catechism and a "Fellow Traveller." At evening we passed "Cuschland" [Goochland] Court House, and, after half a mile, we came to the large James River. We were taken across and remained over night in the first house, with *Jacob Mischer*,* a Quaker, who expressed his surprise that, as a minister, I had undertaken such a long journey in such a poor style, without a horse.

On the 29th, we passed the Etmerk† [Appomattox] River. A short time before a traveler had been killed on the road we were traveling on. After journeying twenty miles we found a house, where we intended to take breakfast and dinner, but the people had neither flour nor bread in the house. Hence they roasted us some potatoes. We then passed "Amili" [Amelia] Court House. When we asked for lodging in the evening, the people would not receive us, although it was dark and it rained. A Scotchman, who noticed that we were strangers, advised us to go to a house two miles out of our way, where we would be received. It was so. We were overcome with the thought of the faithfulness of the Saviour.

On the 30th, we lost our way several times. We had to pass two rivers; the one was called "Notawe" [Nottoway], through which we had to swim. We lodged in an English inn.

On Sunday, December 1st, we came to "Brownschweig" [Brunswick]‡ Court House. We were shown a road, running northeast, but I did not have the courage to follow it. We went, therefore, in a straight southerly direction, as nobody was able to show us the right way. In the afternoon we crossed the river Mohaery [Meherrin], across which leads a large bridge. We

* This was, perhaps, Jacob Michaux, of a wellknown Huguenot family, who lived near the place the river was crossed. The Michauxs still live in sight of the river, opposite Goochland Courthouse.

† The name of this river is very inaccurately reproduced by Schnell, but as the Appomattox is the only important river between Goochland Courthouse and Amelia Courthouse, the identification can hardly be questioned.

‡ Brunswick Courthouse is marked on Fry and Jefferson's map at about the place where Lawrenceville, the present county seat, is now located.

lodged in an English house, where the people received us willingly, because they had also lived in Pennsylvania.

On December 2nd, we went fifteen miles without finding a house. We then came to the large "Ronok" [Roanoke] River at Iden's Ferry, which is the boundary between Carolina and Virginia. We went twenty miles farther and stayed with English people. They said that they had not heard a sermon for several months.

On December 3rd, I visited a German, who lives here among English people. His name is *Zolikoffer*, a Swiss.* He received us very kindly and showed us much love. He related to us much of his life; that he had been an officer in the army and had had much money. Then he had traveled to America out of curiosity. When he returned to Europe, he was taken before the King and the princes to describe to them the conditions in America. Finally he had again come back to America and had stayed here. His story prevented me from telling him something about the Saviour.

On the 4th, we came, towards ten o'clock, to a large creek, called Stony Creek. It seemed to be dangerous to pass through, but we risked it and waded across safely. Afterwards we did not find a house for eleven miles. Towards evening we found one, where we lodged.

On the 5th, we were taken across the "Duerr" [Tar] River. We passed many swamps. The way was difficult to find. Towards evening we were rowed across the "Cotendne" [Contentnea] River. We had still two miles to the nearest house, but got into a Carolinian swamp, with so much water and mud in it that nobody passes through on foot, but only on horseback. Although I called loudly for help, when I heard a dog bark,

* A few years prior to 1738, Colonel William Byrd, of Westover, endeavored to locate a colony of Swiss on the Roanoke river. The venture, however, proved a failure. In 1738, Colonel Byrd published a work entitled *Neu-Gefundnes Eden in Virginia* [New-Found Eden in Virginia]. It was printed at St. Gall, in Switzerland, and its purpose was to induce Swiss and German immigrants to settle in Virginia, especially in the Roanoke Valley. For the time being, Colonel Byrd became a German and his name appears as *Wilhelm Vogel*. This work is rare. A copy is to be found in John Carter Brown Library, Providence, R. I.

nobody came to our rescue, because they thought we were Indians; but, finally, we were fortunate enough to get through and found the house.

On the 6th and 7th, we had only narrow paths to travel and had to ask for the way from one house to another. Towards noon we came to *Dr. Strenger*, across the "News" [Neuse] River. We lost our way, but a man showed us the way to *Abraham Bossert*, a German, who lives ten miles farther. We hastened, as much as we were able, to reach his house before night. We were kindly received. I stayed with him over Sunday, because it rained very hard.

On Monday, December 7th, he gave me a horse to *Jacob Schuetz*, the elder of the German Reformed people there.* He lives seventeen miles out of our way, across the Trent River. I handed to him the letter of the schoolmaster, *Holzkloh*, of Germantown, Virginia. He and the people living in that district were very glad to see a German preacher and were eager to hear a sermon, as they had not heard a German sermon for several years. I asked him to announce to the people that I would preach to-morrow at ten o'clock, which was agreeable to them.

On December 8th, I preached in their church, about six miles away. All the Germans assembled, about forty of them. The Saviour gave me grace to speak to their hearts and blessed my words visibly. They would have liked to keep me, and complained very much because they had no minister. The elder announced to them that I would preach again to-morrow in *Abraham Bossert's* house. I rode back again to my lodging place, where I had left *Bro. Hussey*. The elder and *Mr. Bossert* accompanied me.

On December 9th, I preached to them in *Abr. Bossert's*

* The missionaries were then in Craven county, N.C. The Reformed congregation, which they found there, contained most probably the remnant of *Graffenried's* colony, which he had settled in 1710 at *Newberne*, in the juncture of the Neuse and Trent rivers. Although much scattered by the Indian invasions of 1711 and 1712, it continued to exist, as is evident from its petition to the Council of North Carolina, dated November 6, 1714. See *Colonial Records of North Carolina*, Vol. II, p. 147

house on John, 18:37. After the sermon Abr. Bossert made a great feast to all the persons present, at which many blessed discourses were held. They were all very happy, and expressed the wish to hear me preach every Sunday. They also related to me that three days ago two men from Philadelphia had been with them. They had told them that there was again a new religion in Pennsylvania, in which the people were given a certain potion to drink, after which they would adhere to them. Not long ago a ship-load of people from Switzerland had arrived, who had been rich and respectable people, but as soon as they had taken this potion, they had gone over with all their possessions to the new religion.*

After all this the people returned to their homes, thanking me very much and giving me six pounds, Carolina money, for the journey. On the day before, the elder, who had been much moved by the sermon, had given me three pounds out of the church treasury, and twenty shillings out of his own pocket.

On December 10th, early, Abr. Bossert gave us as many victuals as we could carry. We were well satisfied with them, as few houses are met with on the way. He accompanied us several miles. Then we came to *Michael Miller*, who had kindly invited us yesterday. He is a very proud man. He at once prepared a fine meal and asked for his friends in Pennsylvania. We learned that he is a brother-in law of our *Frantz Bluhm*. After one hour we continued our journey. In the afternoon we crossed the "Neu" [New] River, and in the evening we lodged with *William Stephen*, who had been in Georgia recently, and gave us a thorough description of the way. We heard here wolves and many wild animals at night.

On December 11th, we came so near to the ocean that we could hear the roaring of the waves. In thirty-five miles we had only two houses. Bro. Hussey was rather weak to-day, because he was sick. He had pain in his foot and limped. We stayed in an English inn, kept by *George Bishop*.

On December 12th, we traveled thirty miles, but found only one house. In the evening we came to the city of Williams-

* This is a sample of the foolish stories circulated at that time about the Moravians.

town [Wilmington].* We delivered the letter which Bro. Evans of Philadelphia had given to us for his friends. They recommended to us a good inn, and asked us to take dinner with them on the next day.

Early Sunday morning we went to the friend of Evans, *Thomas Hedge*. As no minister was there and as no church was held (all the people are English) many of the town's people came together to hear the news from Pennsylvania, because most of them have come from there. But they were very frivolous and full of fun, so that I concluded to leave after dinner. Mr. Hedge conducted us to the right way and indicated a plantation which we could still reach to-day. The owner's name is *Brown*. He received us very willingly. During the night and the whole of the next day so much snow fell that none in Carolina could remember the like. It compelled us to remain in doors all day. But the man took no pay from us. He is a churchman and opposed to Whitefield, because he had asserted that certain people would be lost.

On December 17th, we had to travel eight miles through snow and ice. We were taken across "Cape fare" [Cape Fear] River, which is three miles wide, for fifteen shillings of Carolina money—*i. e.*, one shilling and six pence sterling. We remained over night in the town of "Brownschweig" [Brunswick], across the river. As we could get no bread we ate potatoes.

On December 18th, we traveled twenty miles through water and snow, and through a swamp fifteen miles long, the mud reaching over our shoes. As my companion was very tired, I carried his bundle and encouraged him through words. We stayed over night in an English inn.

On December 19th, we passed early over "Lakwood's Folly" [River], and three hours later over the "Schalloth" [Shallotte] River.† Afterwards we traveled ten miles through

* This was Wilmington, N. C. The fact that nearly all of its inhabitants came from Pennsylvania seems to have escaped the notice of most historians of that State.

† Both Lakwood's Folly River and Shallotte River are in Brunswick county, N. C.

water, as the snow melt all at once through the great heat and the water could not run off.

On December 20th, we passed from North Carolina to South Carolina. After having traveled about twelve miles we came to the wide ocean. It is impossible to travel on land, on account of the swamps. Travelers, therefore, pass over the sand of the beach at the time of low tide. They have to hurry to cover fifteen miles before the tide returns, or else they might lose their lives. When it is spring tide, whenever the moon is full, travelers must wait, for they cannot proceed on their journey. It is called Long Bay. As we did not feel confident that we could pass through before night set in, and were already tired, we stayed in an inn, which has been erected at this place. The name of the innkeeper is *Dotz*.

On the following morning we were first taken across a small river, and then we passed along the sand. We had to wade through several rivers, which empty here into the ocean. After having traveled seven miles in this way, we came to a large stream. It had been described to us as very dangerous and so we found it to be, for towards the land there is a large swamp, and closer towards the water there is danger because of the strong waves. I thought, the Lord will help us through safely. Another man traveled with us on horseback, but he did not venture to go first; we had to lead the way so that he might not risk his life. We passed through safely. We journeyed yet eight miles, then we came again on firm land. Here we refreshed ourselves, in a house along the road, with some potatoes and bread. After making twelve miles more we stayed over night in an English house. The name of the innkeeper is *Mahary*. He is a Free Mason. He told us much about his brethren. Among other things he related that three weeks ago a young German, *Franz Leonhard*, intended to travel from Georgia to Pennsylvania to visit his brother, who is a minister there (namely, Boehler). But he had become sick in his house and had died. He had only half a crown of money with him and two German books. The innkeeper offered to give them to me, as he could not read German. When I examined them, I found one to be a Moravian hymnbook and the other a small Halle bible, in which were

written several names of Brethren. I afterwards learned in Georgia that Leonhard intended to go to Bethlehem.

On December 22nd, we did not go very far, because it rained, but we came to the "Winiar River" [Winyah Bay], which is three miles wide. They refused to take us over, saying the wind was contrary. Hence we had to wait. On the following day we had to wait again till ten o'clock for the tide. We passed half a mile from Georgetown, which is situated between two rivers. Then we journeyed fifteen miles before we found a house where we could lodge. But it became dark before we could reach it. We lost our way. When we called they answered us from an inn a mile away. We went to this place and stayed there over night.

On December 24th, we were early taken across the "Sandy" [Santee] River, and after a mile we passed over the other arm of this river. We had nice weather and a fairly good road, hence we hastened to reach "Charlestown" [Charleston] before night. But we were unable to make it. We stayed, therefore, over night with a Scotchman, named *Bruce*. We had to go to this house, because the house before was full of negroes, who would not receive us. Bruce at first objected, but finally yielded and showed us much kindness. He discussed the Scriptures with us, which he knew very well.

On December 25th, after having been taken across the "Copper" [Cooper] River, we came safely to Charlestown [Charleston]. We asked for Mr. *Brunet*, for whom we had a letter. He received us very kindly. He related to us the pitiable circumstances of the ministers and people there, and what evil reports they circulated about the count [Zinzendorf] and the Moravians, of which the libellous book of Gilbert Tennant* is the main cause. I inquired after Germans, but when I heard that only very few live in the city, I resolved to leave "Charlestown" on the following day.

*This is probably the book entitled: "The Necessity of Holding Fast the Truth, represented in Three Sermons on Rev. III, 3. Preached at New York, April, 1742, with an Appendix, Relating to Errors lately vented by some Moravians in those parts. By Gilbert Tennent, M. A. Boston, 1743."

On December 26th, in the afternoon, we left. We crossed the "Eschel" [Ashley] River six miles from "Charlestown," passing over a large bridge. We then lodged with an Englishman, who knew Bro. Spangenberg and the brethren in Georgia, having been especially impressed by their singing.

On December 27th, we traveled thirty-five miles, crossing on the way the "Panpan [Ponpon], "Eschelboo" [Ashepoo] and "Comby" [Combahee] rivers. The tavern in which we lodged was very noisy, because three servants, who had run away from Georgia, were captured there.

On the 28th, at noon, we came to the "Cussahetschy" [Coosawhatschie] River.* We were very tired on account of the great heat. When we heard that we would not find a house for twelve miles, but only water, we stayed there and rested.

On Sunday, the 29th, we passed for the first twelve miles continuously through water, one foot deep, but we reached "Purzburg" [Purysburg].† We visited *Melchior Lichtensteger* and handed to him the letter of Abr. Binger. He received us willingly. We stayed with him over night.

On December 30th, we visited, early in the morning, Mr. *Ehrhard*. He was very glad when I told him that I belonged to the Brethren. He regretted very much that the Brethren had left "Purzburg."‡ He accompanied me into the town, and when I took leave his little daughter, ten years old, cried very much. When the father asked her why she cried, she said

* This must be the Broad River in Beaufort county, S. C., at which the town Coosawhatschie is now situated.

† Purysburg was laid out in 1732 by John Peter Pury, from Switzerland. It was situated on the left bank of Savannah river, twenty miles from the city Savannah. Most of the original settlers were Swiss. Their first pastor was Joseph Bugnion, who, during his stay in England, received Episcopal ordination. See *The Reformed Church in Pennsylvania*, by Rev. Dr. Dubbs, p. 30.

‡ The stay of the Moravians in Purysburg had not been of long duration. Rev. Peter Boehler and George Schullius removed from Savannah to Purysburg in February, 1739. But Schullius succumbed to the climate and died of fever, August 4, 1739. Towards fall, Peter Boehler left Purysburg and returned to Savannah. See *Early History of the Moravians*, p. 76, f.

she cried for her schoolteacher *Schulius*, who is buried in "Purisburg." Then he also began to cry and asked that a schoolteacher of the Brethren might again come to them. When we returned to "Purisburg" (for Mr. Ehrhard lives one mile outside of town) we were treated to a bottle of wine. The same evening, at nine o'clock, we left "Purisburg" and went with Lichtensteger's canoe down the Savannah River. Early the next morning, at three o'clock, we came to Savannah. As everybody was yet asleep, we walked up and down through the streets. Finally we saw a light in a little house. We knocked, and when they opened we found it was Bro. *Henry Beck*. After having been refreshed with some tea, bread and butter, we lay down for a few hours.

On December 31st, we stayed the whole day in their house. They were overcome with joy and were eager to show their love for us. They related to me the poor spiritual condition of the people there, how they had ceased all intercourse with them.

1744, January.

On the 1st, I went with Bro. *Henry Beck* to the White "Ploff" [Bluff], where all the Germans live together on about forty plantations. I delivered a letter to *Conrad Fuehrer*, who has ceased his intercourse with the Brethren for some time, especially since a letter had been sent by Rev. Mr. "Muhlberg" [Muehlenberg],* of Philadelphia, to the pastor of the Salzburgers,†

* Rev. Henry Melchior Muehlenberg, the patriarch of the Lutheran Church in America, arrived in Charleston, S. C., September 22, 1742. After a visit to the congregations of the Salzburgers, he returned to Charleston, where he took a little sloop for Philadelphia. After a very dangerous voyage he arrived at his destination on November 25, 1742. He was for many years pastor of the Lutheran congregations at Philadelphia, New Hanover and New Providence. He died October 7, 1787. See W. J. Mann, *Life and Times of H. M. Muehlenberg*, Philadelphia, 1887.

† The Salzburgers were Lutheran Protestants, driven from their homes, the Duchy of Salzburg, now in Austria, by the intolerance of the Roman archbishop. More than 30,000 left their homes. While most of them settled in Prussia, a small part came to Georgia. The first company, consisting of ninety-one persons, arrived in 1734. They were led by their pastors, John Martin Boltzius and Israel Christian Gronau. They

Mr. *Bolzcius*. In it many lies were told about our Brethren and many wicked things were falsely reported about them. This letter, covering two sheets, was read by Bolzcius to the people one afternoon, instead of a sermon, after having administered the holy communion in the forenoon. This has stirred up the people against us.

On the 2nd, I visited Mr. *Ade*, a shoemaker, and later *Michael Schweizer*, to whom I delivered a letter from Bro. Hagen. In the evening Bro. *Brownfield*, together with *Henry Beck** and *John Bay*, had their usual meeting, to which they also invited Bro. Hussey and myself.

On the 3rd and 4th, I visited a number of people.

On the 5th, being Christmas (*i. e.*, December 25th, old style), I preached a German sermon in Savannah, in the house of the Brethren. A number of people came together, when they heard that a strange minister was there. In the afternoon but very few came. After the services a man spoke to me, who at one time intended to stab Bro. Hagen. His name is *Bellico*. But he is now converted and he requested me in his name to ask Bro. Hagen's forgiveness.

On the 6th, as on Monday after Christmas, I preached to the Germans at the "White Ploff." I also visited an awakened man and friend, *Berger*. He asked me to visit him frequently, which I did. As a result he was deposed from his office as elder of the Reformed congregation, because, as the people said, he had fallen away from his religion.

On the 7th, I returned again to Savannah, where I visited several Germans, among others Mr. *Astherr*.

On the 12th, I preached in Savannah in the forenoon, and in

settled at Ebenezer, twenty-four miles from Savannah. Other colonists followed soon afterwards. See P. A. Strobel, *The Salzburgers and their Descendants*. Baltim re, 1855.

* Brownfield and Beck were among the first adherents of the Moravians in Savannah. Brownfield had come to Georgia from England in February, 1737, with General Oglethorpe. Beck had arrived in 1738, and was for a time a member of the "Whitefield Economy." Both left Georgia in 1745 and settled in Bethlehem. Both were later ordained deacons and died at Bethlehem. See *Register of Moravians*, pp. 73 f. and 77.

the afternoon at the "White Ploff," where several had agreed to stone me if I should undertake to preach. However, I paid no attention to them but went into the meeting house at the usual time. During the sermon they created considerable disturbance outside of the house, but I remained unmolested. After the sermon I visited Mr. *Teus** and his wife.

On the 16th, Mr. *Barber*, from the orphanage of Whitefield,† visited me. He invited me to come to the orphanage to visit him.

On Sunday, the 19th, the minister from "Purisburg" administered the Lord's Supper to the Germans, at the court house [in Savannah]. The Germans of the white "Ploff," who liked me, came to the city to-day, with whom I held services in the afternoon.

On the 21st, I traveled by water to Purisburg, spending the night with Mr. *Ehrhard*. On the next day I visited the Reformed minister there, named "Chiffeli."‡ He showed me his garden and plantation. When we returned to the house I asked him whether he would allow me to preach in his church. He said,

*This is, perhaps, the German painter, Theus, who entertained Muehlenberg in Charlotte, S. C., from October 25, 1742, to November 12, 1742. See Muehlenberg's *Autobiography*, Allentown, 1881, pp. 115-117. According to Bernheim (*History of the German Settlements and of the Lutheran Church in North and South Carolina*, Philadelphia, 1872, p. 88), he was the brother of the Reformed minister, Christian Theus, who labored in Saxe Cotha, S. C., from 1739 to at least 1789.

†The cornerstone of the Whitefield orphanage, at Savannah, was laid on March 25, 1740. When the building was completed, it received the name Bethesda. McClintock and Strong *Cyclopædia*, Vol. X, p. 983.

‡Dalcho in his *History of the P. E. Church in South Carolina*, p. 386, mentions Rev. Henry Chiffelle as pastor in Purysburg. He was ordained by the Bishop of London, July 21, 1734. He is said to have come to South Carolina in 1744, and died in 1758. The date 1744 seems to be a misprint for 1734, because (1) this diary shows that he was already in South Carolina in January, 1744, his statements implying a long residence in this country. (2) Rev. Joseph Bugnion, his predecessor, died in 1734, and it is hardly likely that the S. P. G. should have left the congregation vacant ten years. (3) Rev. Chiffelle was ordained in 1734 for service in America, which implies his immediate departure for his field of labor. It is interesting to find him referred to as a Reformed minister in spite of his Episcopal ordination.

personally he had no objection, but explicit orders had been received from "Charlestown," according to which none should have permission to preach, except he had been ordained or licensed by the Bishop of London. He advised me, therefore, to preach in the manner of our Bro. *Boehler** and others in my house. Besides, he said, he did not know whether I were a Capuchin [monk] or a teacher of languages, running about through the country. And, in case I were a follower of Zinzendorf, I might have as heretical doctrines as my Bro. Hagen.† Finally, he did not know our doctrines, for although he had read some of our books, there had not been in them a real exposition of our teaching, and he would ask Bro. Boehler to send him such books, which would be thankfully received. He wished me much success and blessing in my work for the conversion of many souls. As for himself, he had not been able to accomplish much with his sermons among the Germans, because their hearts were very hard. Yet he would continue to preach as there was nobody else.

On the following day I visited the Germans in the country, but found few hearts with a desire for the Saviour. *Abraham Binninger*'s‡ brother told me that he had long intended to move

* Rev. Peter Boehler was, after Spangenberg, the most prominent leader of the Moravians in America. Born December 31, 1712, in Frankfort-on-the-Main. Ordained December 16, 1737, by Zinzendorf. Sent to Georgia, where he arrived on September 29, 1738. When the settlement in Georgia was abandoned, he returned with Whitefield to Pennsylvania in 1740. Ordained Bishop in 1748. For many years one of the superintendents of the American congregations, carrying on his work with great diligence and success. Died April 27, 1775, in London. His efficient labors are worthily commemorated by J. R. Lockwood, *Memorials of the Life of Peter Boehler, Bishop of the Church of the United Brethren*, London, 1868.

† John Hagen, from Brandenburg, was sent in 1740 to labor among the Cherokees in Georgia. Came to Bethlehem in February, 1742. Labored later among the Delawares, the Susquehanna Indians and the Mohicans of New York. Died at Shamokin, September 16, 1747. Note of Mr. J. W. Jordan in *Moravian* of April 4, 1878.

‡ Abraham Buhninger, born in the Canton of Zurich, Switzerland. Emigrated to Puryburg, S. C. Settled finally at Bethlehem in 1745. *Register of Moravians*, p. 78.

to Bethlehem, but he was now about to wed, and was married eight days later to a woman from "Purisburg." I also visited Mr. "Zibele" [Zubly],* who loves us, especially Bro. Boehler. As he intends to visit Pennsylvania within a few months, he will also come to Bethlehem.

On Sunday, the 26th, I heard the Reformed minister preach in his church. He represented to his hearers the eternal punishment of hell and that none could be saved from it, according to the words: "Thou shalt by no means come out thence, till thou hast paid the uttermost farthing." [Matt. 5: 26.]

On February 4th, I went with Bro. Henry [Beck] by water to Ebenezer. We stayed three miles on this side with one of the Salzburgers over night. He is a hearty and dear man.

On the 5th, I visited Dr. *Tillow* at Ebenezer. He is not satisfied with Bolzius, saying his people were not directed by him to the Saviour, but merely to virtues. However, he himself is a peculiar saint. We also visited the shoemaker, *Reck*.

On Sunday, the 9th, I went to the white "Ploff," to bid the people farewell. Then I returned again to the city and held services in the evening. After them, a Hollander, *Bekew*, who attended our meetings frequently and who preaches occasionally in French, told me that he had derived great benefit from my sermons. He remembered all of last Sunday's sermon, and would preach it on the following Sunday in Georgia, in the French language. Captain *Grand* also came to me to bid me farewell.

On the 15th, we bade a hearty farewell to our dear friends, *Brownfield* and *Beck*. They accompanied us to the sloop, and as the wind was favorable, we left Savannah. There were on

* This was evidently David Zubly. Born January 2, 1700, at St Gall, Switzerland. Emigrated in September, 1736, with a colony of 250 persons, led by Rev. Mr. Zuberbuehler. Reached Purysburg, S. C., in February, 1737. His son, John Joachim Zubly, educated in Switzerland, followed his father in 1744. The younger Zubly was for many years the most prominent Reformed minister in the South. In September, 1775, he was elected as a member of Continental Congress. Being a strong royalist, he was compelled to resign. Died August 21, 1781. Good, *History of the Reformed Church in the United States*, pp. 256-261. Dubbs, *The Reformed Church in Pennsylvania*, pp. 202-219.

the sloop the owner, *John Benrose* [Penrose], the captain, whose name was *Sherwood*, and a sailor.

[The missionaries returned to Pennsylvania by way of New York, arriving at Bethlehem on April 10, 1744].

THE SITE OF OLD "JAMES TOWNE," 1607-1698.*

BY SAMUEL H. YONGE.

(Continued from page 276.)

As the time of Newport's colony, immediately after its arrival in Virginia was occupied in exploring the country, building the stockade, and preparing a cargo for the return voyage of the ships, the building of quarters was neglected, and those erected were inadequate in number and afforded but imperfect shelter. The best of them were built of rails and roofed with marsh grass thatch covered with earth.† According to the "Breife Declaration," some of the settlers lived in holes in the ground, as is sometimes done on the western plains, where they are called "dug-outs."

After Newport's departure, hot weather and general illness of the party supervening, the completing of the huts was prevented until the fall of 1607.‡

The first huts were destroyed by fire in January, 1608, and were not fully replaced until after Newport's departure for England, in April of that year,§ about which time the clearing of the four acres was begun.

The huts which replaced those that were burned were more

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† Works, Captain John Smith, p. 957. (The references in this monograph to "Works, Captain John Smith," are from Prof. Edward Arber's edition.)

‡ *Ibid*, pp. 10, 96, 392.

§ *Ibid*, pp. 105, 409.